India

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NOTES AND NEWS.

WHEN the Indian Covenanted Civil Service was thrown open to competition the main practical object was to strike a blow at jobbery. No reasonable person expected that all the men successful in a competitive examination would turn out Admirable Crichtons, or that a millennium would commence in which all promotion would be by merit. But it was evident that a system of open competition would absolutely exclude favouritism in the matter of first selection; and would very materially reduce the inducements to jobbery as regards subsequent promotion. As of old, no doubt, the high authorities would desire to take care of Dowb; but then Dowb could not get into the Covenanted Civil Service, and as regards personal favour there was little to choose as between Messrs. Brown, Jones, and Robinson, competition-wallas, men drawn from every class and from every locality. It has thus come to pass that with respect to the Covenanted Civil Service jobbery has had to take a back seat. What then was to become of Dowb? Fortunately for him there remained the Uncovenanted Service, where interest prevails, and where, as in the case of the Garter, there need not be any blank nonsense about merit. Accordingly the Uncovenanted Service is the happy hunting-ground for jobs.

We have often had occasion to complain of undue favour to Uncovenanted Europeans, to the detriment of Indians, who are naturally entitled to employment in the service of their own country. Again and again Small Cause Court Judgeships, Presidency Magistracies, and other prizes of the subordinate service, have been snatched away from Indians of long service and efficiency, to be given to callow favourites from England, ignorant of the people and the languages.

But now we have before us a striking case in which the members of the Covenanted Civil Service are the victims. Had Parliament been sitting no doubt a question on the subject would have been asked before this in the House of Commons. The case we refer to comes from Burma, and we glean the following particulars from the memorial addressed to Lord George Hamilton: Mr. H. T. P. Hall, of the Uncovenanted Service, was in June, 1890, appointed on probation a 4th grade assistant in the Burma Commission, the condition of his appointment being that he should pass the Higher Departmental examination within two years. He finally passed this examination in June, 1895, and was confirmed in the 4th grade, taking his place on the list according to the date on which he passed, this being the published Government regulation as regards seniority. But in May 1898 he was suddenly lifted over the heads of twenty other 4th grade assistants, and his name placed at the head of the list. The reason given by the Government for this extraordinary proceeding is that at an examination in June, 1892, Mr. Hall "was unable on account of sickness contracted on frontier service to finish his paper and failed to qualify." It is certainly a strong measure to go back six years in order to find such a reason for superseding twenty deserving officers; and we ask the India Office to look carefully into this case.

Joint memorials by members of the service are forbidden, a rule which tends to smooth the way for jobs. The memorial now before us is therefore signed by only one of the complainants, a member of the Covenanted Civil Service, who has been bold enough to bell the cat. But the grievance is equally shared by the other nineteen superseded members of the 4th grade. Further it is to be noted that the memorialist has been refused copies of the papers in the case, but in spite of this disadvantage he has made out a strong *primâ facie* case. The attempt to maintain secrecy with regard to the facts is damaging to the moral position of the Government, but that may be rectified, and we can promise the noble lord, the Secretary of State for India, that he will have an opportunity, as soon as Parliament meets, of stating to the House the particulars which have so unwisely been withheld.

"There are nine and sixty ways of constructing tribal lays," according to an eminent authority. It may be so, but there is a marvellous sameness about the ways at present in vogue. The minor poets have caught both their subject and their lilt from Mr. Rudyard Kipling: "Most can raise the flowers now, For all have got the seed." If they had also caught the spirit of their master's noble "Recessional," there would be more matter for thankfulness. As it is, they often give us little more than glorified versions of "We don't want to fight, but, by Jingo, if we do;" and our literary journals, with scarcely an exception, are telling their readers that this beating of the big British drum is—poetry! Mr. Newbolt, whose "Admirals All" has run through many editions, is announced as having in the press a new volume of poems, "The Island Race." The name is curiously suggestive of that "insularity" which the greatest of English literary critics used to denounce as our national failing, but which has suddenly become a literary virtue. The *Athenæum*, which still maintains sound canons of poetical criticism, warned Mr. Newbolt last January against the delusive and perilous popularity which some of his verses were enjoying for non-poetical qualities; but it is to be feared that the warning has passed altogether unheeded. He may succeed in being "crowned" by newspaper criticism; he may possibly be elevated, like a brother patriot, to the post of Poet Laureate; yet it is certain that he cannot enter the ranks of the Immortals till he appeals to a deeper and truer instinct than the fashionable sentiment of Imperialism.

We make no apology for returning to the Indian papers recently to hand which confirm our Calcutta correspondent's account of the importance of the Town Hall meeting to protest against the Calcutta Municipality Bill. The *Statesman* says "the hall was crammed, there being about 3,000 people present"; and the Sheriff of Calcutta, in opening the meeting, characterised it as "an overwhelming audience," and said that "even this historic hall is not large enough to accommodate all." Even the Anglo-Indian *Englishman* calls it "an immense gathering of the Native residents and ratepayers of the town and suburbs." This conclusively demonstrates, in itself, how keenly the Bill has touched the feelings of the people.

The speeches confirm the impression made by the magnitude of the meeting. While marked by intense loyalty, and by a pathetic hope in the final justice of the Lieutenant-Governor and the Crown, they express the most strenuous objections to the Bill, and base their objections upon arguments that would seem to be unanswerable. The Sheriff, Babu Sita Nath Roy, made an admirable opening—admirable in temper and in matter. While affirming his confidence in the honesty and good intentions of the Government, he yet pointed out that "there may be what is called mistaken benevolence, excess of zeal in thrusting, with the best of motives, Western ideas of sanitation upon a people whose habits, deep-rooted pre-

judices, and, above all, whose straitened means unfit them to adapt themselves to advanced standards of living." Having discharged his specific official duty as Sheriff, he added:—

I cannot altogether divest myself of my character as a ratepayer, and it would be affectation to deny that I am deeply interested in some of the questions which are presently to be brought before you for discussion. While we are deeply grateful to Government for its solicitude in effecting sanitary reforms, in improving the conservancy of the town, in opening out its congested parts, I am constrained to say that there are provisions in the Bill which are by no means acceptable to a large body of my countrymen, and which, in my opinion, are susceptible of improvement.

These restrained words of the Sheriff imply a great deal more than they formally express.

The Chairman, Rájá Benoy Krishna, Bahadur, regretted the necessity for such a meeting, but did not hesitate to express his conviction that the Bill "aims a death-blow at local self-government in Calcutta, and, if passed, will be sure to bring extreme hardship and much discontent among all ratepayers—in fact all who reside in Calcutta." Further—

It is not too much to say that no measure in recent times has produced so much apprehension as this measure has done. I have not come across a single countryman of mine, either in private or in public places, who, in speaking of this Bill, has not expressed his strong disapproval. I am afraid, but none the less is it an absolute fact, that the people look upon it as a coercive measure, calculated to do away with municipal self-government, which has been attended with such well-known beneficial results . . . . It is a measure absolutely unnecessary and uncalled for.

Here, again, the gratuitous intermeddling of the Government is made painfully clear, as well as the disturbance of feeling in the whole population.

The first resolution, moved by Babu Protap Chunder Mozoomdar, was in these terms:—

That this meeting desires to record its respectful but firm protest against the Calcutta Municipal Bill as being retrograde in its character and subversive of the principle of local self-government, and as vesting large and important powers in the executive, which, as they must be delegated to subordinates and will be exercised without the wholesome check of the Corporation, cannot fail to be attended with grave oppression.

The speaker, though "a confirmed non-agitationist," recalled the hopes inspired by the initiation of self-government in Calcutta, and asked whether the popular education in self-government during the past quarter of a century had done the city any good. "Let the streets, squares, under-ground drains, improved bustees, extended water-supply, answer that question." Then:—

Indeed there are faulty Commissioners and insanitary localities around us. I know of Commissioners whose activity is most conspicuous when they canvass for votes at the elections, but who spend the rest of their time in treating their constituents as the absentee landlords treat their Irish tenantry. But I ask how many of the 670 members of Parliament are at their places in the House when an important Bill is discussed, or who take part or pains in the discussion? How many of the 138 members of the London County Council add wisdom to the counsels of the City administration? What parts of Calcutta are more insanitary than some of the back slums of London and Liverpool, than the fresh quarters of Glasgow, than the alleys of unfragrant Cologne, than the Italian quarters of New York, or the Chinese quarters of San Francisco? But, for these reasons, who ever thought of striking down the municipal corporations of these cities? No one can feel so sorely the need of European and high-placed commercial Commissioners on our Municipal Board, but who or what keeps them out? How many of them presented themselves for election and were rejected? What schemes of municipal improvement did they propose which were out-voted?

The argument is overwhelming, and, if the Government were open to argument, would make an end of the Bill.

Dr. Rash Behary Ghose moved the second resolution as follows:—

That in the opinion of this meeting no case has been made out for the complete supersession of a municipal system which has now been in existence for nearly a quarter of a century, and which has contributed so largely to the financial solvency of the Corporation and to those sanitary improvements which have converted Calcutta from being in the words of Mr. (afterwards Sir John) Strachey "a scandal and a disgrace to a civilised Government," from a sanitary point of view, to one of the healthiest cities in these provinces. But should the Government think otherwise, this meeting prays that a Commission be appointed to institute an enquiry into the municipal administration of Calcutta since the introduction of the elective system, and that no legislation be undertaken except upon the basis of their report.

Dr. Ghose effectively pushed home the points of the resolution, warning his audience seriously "that it was not merely the Commissioners who were under trial, but the elective system itself was on its trial," for "local self-government would be buried in the grave of the present Corporation." His seconder, the Rev. A. P. Begg, pointedly declared that the Bill was "an instance of panic legislation." In England it would have been killed by the comic papers. He thought the failings of the Corporation were not due to its constitution, but that "the Corporation had sometimes been badly served by its European officers in high positions, who were responsible for the sanitation of the town." It was well that an European should be there to say, with some authority, what an Indian would hesitate to allege. Mr. Begg "considered this legislation to be preposterous and retrograde," and prophesied that, "if it were not considerably modified and improved, it would be found in practice to be a complete failure." The prophesy is, indeed, a very obvious one.

The meeting then adopted a long memorial for submission to the Lieutenant-Governor. The memorial deals fully with reduction of popular control. It urges the actual sanitariness of Calcutta, as indicated by the doubled value of land through the influx from unhealthy districts, and by the exclusion of plague from a foothold in the city. It emphasises the "grievance" of the ratepayers in the suppression of the system "in such a summary fashion, without adequate investigation by a competent tribunal"—a system hitherto successful and praised in the highest terms by the authorities themselves. "The interests of minorities" such as the trading and mercantile interests, it admits, "need protection," but, on the other hand, it argues irrefragably, "a system which provides for the absolute predominance of a minority must be held to be inconsistent with the fundamental principles of local self-government." The establishment of three co-ordinate authorities, the principal of which is the chairman, who "must, as regards the bulk of his work, delegate his authority to his subordinates," inevitably opens up "a prospect which the memorialists cannot contemplate without alarm and anxiety." "It cannot but lead to grave oppression," they insist, "and no form of oppression is more intolerable than that which affects the daily lives and habits of the people."

Lastly, your memorialists submit that, if municipal self-government depends for its success upon the sympathy and co-operation of the people, then it is no exaggeration to say that, if the Bill be passed into law, the municipal system of Calcutta will be wanting in this important element.

This remarkable situation demands the immediate attention of those of us at home who realise the value of self-government.

"It is only a matter of time," writes Mr. Andrew Carnegie in the *North American Review*, "when India, the so-called gem of the British Crown, is to glitter red again." The *Outlook* (London) does "not believe him." It points to the operation of local self-government, and says "the British Raj is now broad-based upon the people's will, and England rules India increasingly through India." If Mr. Carnegie looks in the wrong direction for the upshot, the *Outlook* is very much farther at sea as to its premises and its conclusions. What has it to say to the Calcutta Municipality Bill?

A peerage has, as was expected, been conferred upon Mr. Curzon. "The least we can do for our fellow subjects in the East is," the *Standard* says, "to associate power with the emblems of rank, and to give them an English grandee to fill the place which, in their imagination, and indeed vocabulary, represents the most august of mundane prerogatives." "The least we can do"! Is not this a little hard upon Mr. Curzon?

The following passage from the *North China Herald* will no doubt be read with melancholy interest in India:—

Vernacular newspaper enterprises in China have received a fillip and encouragement in their work, and now hold a position of high importance in the political arena of the Empire by the promulgation of an Imperial edict of August 9, granting them the special privilege of writing on political subjects "in order to enlighten those in authority and tear off the veil which hides in obscurity the misgovernment of officials. This, indeed, is a matter of the highest importance, and is the primary reason for the institution of the newspaper in all countries." His Majesty Kuang Hsü also calls upon newspaper editors and contributors "not to hold back just criticism, nor are they in future to avoid what have hitherto been considered forbidden subjects through fear of giving offence to the persons criticised, as this will obstruct His Majesty's earnest desire of enlightening his ministers and the masses." By the promulgation

of this edict the liberty of the Chinese Press is assured, "for what the Emperor gives forth to the world is law to his subjects."
There seems to be a moral here for the Government of India—and from the heathen Chinee, too!

Mr. Romesh C. Dutt contributes to the October issue of the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* an article entitled, "A Needed Reform in Indian Administration." The purport of the article is well summarised in a single sentence. "In the interests of good administration it is," Mr. Dutt says, "absolutely necessary to provide some means—not for transferring to Indian hands the ultimate decision of Indian questions—but for securing some representation of Indian opinion in those executive councils in England and in India which decide on great Indian questions."

A Reuter telegram sent from Bombay on Wednesday stated that the latest returns for the week ending on Monday show a marked increase in the mortality in Bombay city. The deaths from all causes were 864, as against 748 in the previous week, 148 of these being certified to be due to plague, as compared with 126 in the previous week.

During the recent debate on the annual budget in the Bombay Council, the Hon. Sir C. Ollivant is reported to have said: "I am entirely opposed to the employment of troops on plague duty." Yet how furious Lord G. Hamilton became last year when Sir W. Wedderburn insisted on the same point. If Sir W. Wedderburn's advice had been followed, the plague measures would have been rid of their most unfortunate feature, and the irritation which they have caused would—with all its untoward consequences—have been greatly diminished. At last our fire-eaters are beginning to perceive that the sentiments and feelings of the people should count for something in the government of a civilised country.

The unwisdom of some of the plague measures seems likely to make English dispensaries and hospitals unpopular in India. The annual report on the dispensaries of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh shows a decrease of 262,943 in the number of in-door and out-door patients. One cause of the decrease is said to be "the fear excited by the plague preventive measures, which deterred many patients from attending dispensaries." Now that the first alarm excited by the plague is over, rational measures should be adopted in every province of India, measures consistent with the habits and wishes of the people. By all accounts the coercive measures first introduced aggravated the havoc, to say nothing of disturbances and riots attended with death. A more popular system of administration is the true remedy for many of the evils from which India suffers at the present day.

A foolish plague prosecution in Bombay has caused some excitement in the town. A plague doctor found two patients in a room adjoining one Jagjivan Das's school-room. Jagjivan Das was charged by the police with failing to give information of plague cases. The magistrate who took the case ordered the poor schoolmaster to be acquitted and discharged, and Dr. Blaney rightly protests against such irritating and foolish prosecutions. "It is becoming plainer day by day," he writes in the *Times of India*, "that if India is to be ruined by the plague we shall owe the ruin, not to the disease—for that disease has its times and its seasons and its limitations quite apart from any legislative enactments—but to anti-plague measures which in their operation result in spreading and increasing the plague." The folly of attempts to rule India without consulting the sentiments and wishes of the people, and honestly accepting their co-operation, was never more clearly illustrated than in the series of blunders committed under the name of plague-relief at Poona, at Bombay, and at Garshankar.

A public meeting, convened by the Bombay Presidency Association, was held at Bombay on September 3, to accord a suitable welcome to Mr. A. M. Bose after his campaign in England. The Hon. Mr. Mehta, as President, opened the meeting, and referred to the calamities which India had recently passed through, and the "repressive and retrograde measures" thrust upon the people. "We must be up and doing," he said. "The great bulwark of our rights and privileges is attacked in a manner in which ought not to have been attacked by the British Parliament and the British nation. That I may call an Imperial influenza. But we must not suppose that they have abandoned their sympathy for us; they have only held it in suspense. Then, you will ask, what should we do? The answer to that question is, work like our two esteemed and distinguished countrymen, Messrs. Dutt and Bose." The Hon. Mr. Chandravarkar said that Mr. Bose was a reformer all along the line—a political, religious, social and educational reformer—and that he had rendered valuable services to his country by acquainting the British public with Indian affairs.

Mr. Bose made an eloquent speech in reply. Though the English people were absorbed in their own business, still, he said, they were a justice-loving nation. "The fate of India was linked with a nation which was progressive, and which would not fail to render India a full measure of justice." Mr. Bose referred to the splendid services of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, and we are glad to see that he laid stress, as the British Committee of the Indian National Congress has never ceased to do, upon the importance of holding meetings on Indian affairs, and distributing pamphlets and leaflets in this country. It ought, we think, to be a regular part of the proceedings of the Congress to delegate a certain number of qualified Indian speakers to this country for propagandist work of this kind. Given the speakers, we fancy that the British Committee would not have much difficulty in arranging meetings for them.

We quoted recently some remarks from *Capital*, a commercial newspaper published in Calcutta, on the unwise speech which Sir A. Mackenzie made at the Assam dinner in London. Sir A. Mackenzie, who seems to writhe under criticism, assures the *Englishman* that he was misreported. "As regards the misreported phrase, I owe no *amende* to the editor of *Capital*—his style entitled him to none—but I offer this explanation to any other persons who may have been hurt by the misreported words." The person who appears to have been most hurt by the whole incident is Sir A. Mackenzie himself. People who are prone to use strong language towards the weak, to offer explanations and apologies to the strong, and to wince under just criticism, do not make ideal rulers. We want strong, courteous English gentlemen as rulers in India. How far a little kindness and courtesy to the people will go is shown by the present examples of Sir Antony MacDonnell and Sir Arthur Havelock.

One is glad to see that the reform for which the late Dr. Bahadurji worked so hard appears to be making headway. The Government of India has come to see the justice of improving the position of the Indian assistant-surgeon. Those who know India well are aware that assistant-surgeons are a capable and meritorious class, who do good service in making European methods of treatment popular. Their very efficiency has damaged their chances. The European civil surgeon regards them with no friendly eye; and, as Dr. Bahadurji explained in his evidence before Lord Welby's Commission, a needless gap has been religiously maintained between the two classes of practitioners. It is now stated that the maximum pay of the assistant-surgeons has been raised to Rs. 300 a month, and that men of "proved merit and ability" may ultimately rise to the rank of civil surgeon.

The *Champion*, discussing the condition of the Deccan cultivators, says: "The root of the rayat's misery lies in the periodic enhancements of land revenue. . . . . A system of rack-rent can never prosper a peasantry. Lighten the land-tax sufficiently to enable the peasant to buy his fuel and to pay the cost of production, without that perennial recourse to the money-lender, and you are bound to see a change, and a change for the better, in the condition of the peasantry, which is the real back-bone of the State." Words like these have been repeated from year's end to year's end in India, but hitherto to deaf ears. The rules of enhancement have become more and more rigorous. In Madras the pledges given by Lord Ripon's Government in respect of fixity of rent have been violated, and in the Central Provinces the period of settlement has been reduced from thirty years to twenty, and even less.

A LIBEL ON OFFICIAL INDIANS.

FROM the passage extracted from the "London Correspondence" of the *Scotsman*, which we print on another page together with a letter addressed by Mr. R. C. Dutt to the Editor of the *Scotsman*, it will be seen that the case of Gurdial Singh has been turned to the basest of uses. On September 9 we commented upon that deplorable case. We refrained from passing any opinion on the validity of the judgment, the evidence not being before us in such a form as to justify any final conclusion; and experience has taught us that such judgments are not always to be accepted without independent examination of the facts. On the face of the facts alleged, we admitted, the case undoubtedly looked very black indeed; but, as we said, "there have been cases that looked almost as bad, and yet turned out to be completely mistaken." Further, on the supposition that the charges are true, we abandoned the Sirdar to his fate. "If the grounds of Sirdar Gurdial Singh Man's dismissal turn out to be sound," we wrote, "there will be nothing to say but downright approval." And we concluded in these words: "It is as clear as noonday that the judicial service must be watched with the keenest jealousy, and kept beyond the slightest breath of reproach at all costs." We may venture, then, to claim to stand independently on the justice of the case.

The passage telegraphed to the *Scotsman* by its London correspondent is of so specific a character that it needs to be dealt with fully. Let us exhibit its true value sentence by sentence.

1. "The facts recently telegraphed from Simla that a Commission of high officials, which has for months been investigating charges of bribery and corruption brought against Gurdial Singh, a member of the Covenanted Civil Service, is believed to have reported him as guilty, and that two of the principal witnesses against him have been murdered, have a special significance."

Now mark the indecent haste of this writer to discharge his venom: the Commission "is believed" to have found the man guilty. He could not wait for the definite announcement. As Mr. Dutt points out, Gurdial Singh was *not* "a member of the Covenanted Civil Service;" and therefore all the subsequent argument based on that untrue allegation falls to the ground. Gurdial Singh was Divisional Judge at Sialkote, and belonged to the Statutory Civil Service, quite a different body. Two witnesses against him were murdered, but the implication of "special significance" in this fact—presumably that it was because they gave adverse evidence—is wholly at fault; the Indian newspapers have shown that there is no reason to adopt this explanation of the murder of a couple of notorious scoundrels, and not one, so far as we have observed, has even hinted at such an implication. The "special significance" of Gurdial's alleged misdeeds is indicated by the *Times of India*, which has no tenderness for "Babus": it honourably declines to regard his case as typical, and adds that "there are many indications that during the last twenty or thirty years the tendency of the administration of justice in India, so far as the administration is in the hands of Natives, has been towards the creation of a loftier standard of public duty." The writer in the *Scotsman* might well take a lesson in honourable journalism from the *Times of India*. Every tub stands on its own bottom. Every Indian—and Anglo-Indian—officer must be judged by his own actions.

2. "This is only the latest of several cases in which Hindu and Mahometan members of the Indian Civil Service have broken down from moral corruption or physical and moral cowardice."

We refer the writer to Mr. Dutt's challenge. In the whole history of the Indian Civil Service—that is, the Covenanted Civil Service—there is not known to be a single case to justify the statement. If there be such a case, let it be produced. Further, Gurdial is neither a Hindu nor a Mahometan. He is a Sikh. We put no stress on the distinction, except as convicting the writer of one more gross inaccuracy. We know something of the staunch fidelity of the Sikhs, whose general character is not affected by one unhappy exception. The charge of "moral corruption" is sufficiently disposed of by the *Times of India*; and the charge of "physical and moral cowardice" is time-dishonoured slander, which any student of history would blush to repeat.

3. "Yet the so-called National Congress and its Radical supporters, like Sir William Wedderburn, M.P., clamour for more high offices to be opened to men whose only qualification is the English education they have received in Indian colleges, chiefly at public expense."

Here again is a tissue of untruths. We pass by the "so-called" National Congress: that sneer has long lost its point, and is now left to the lackeys of controversy. Sir William Wedderburn can defend himself; but it would be interesting to see the writer produce any extract from speech or writing of Sir William's that could for a moment support such an absurd assertion. Sir William would no doubt like to see the terms of the Queen's Proclamation honoured in the promotion of competent men, wherever or however educated. The sneer "at public expense" is a strangely fatuous one in a country of public schools, colleges, and universities like the United Kingdom. How in the name of common sense can it be set down to the discredit of an Indian official that he has received his education in the institutions of his native land, which are maintained at the expense of the taxpayers—his fellow-countrymen?

4. "When that fairest of Radicals, the Right Hon. H. H. Fowler, M.P., became Secretary of State for India, his eyes were opened, and in the House of Commons in 1894, he declared that out of the 898 positions competed for in the Indian Civil Service and open to all the Queen's subjects, 93 were held by Bengali and other Babus, of whom Gurdial Singh is one."

Wonderful compliment to Sir Henry Fowler! Would it be so very strange even if it were true that a country of the magnitude of India actually provides one in ten of its future administrators? Depend upon it, the ratio will soon have to be altered materially, and that in favour of India. Again, Gurdial Singh is *not* a Babu.

5. "Not only so, but there is a native judge in each of the five High Courts of Justice, where he is generally associated with English or Scottish barrister judges, and is, therefore, really useful and reliable."

Five High Courts? We really were not aware that more than four were yet in operation; but that is a detail. The reference to the High Court judges is all wrong. In Calcutta two Indian judges have often sat together, and given entire satisfaction to the legal profession and to the public. In Bombay Mr. Tyabji often sits alone. The writer evidently does not know that the High Courts in India consist of barrister, covenanted civilian, and Indian judges. The latter sit sometimes with the barrister, and at other times with civilian judges. Mr. Justice Mitter acted as *interim* Chief Justice of Bengal on the retirement of Sir Richard Garth; and, if there are any English judges whom the profession would set over the late Sir Muthuswamy Aiyar of Madras and Mr. Justice Mahmoud of Allahabad, we should like to have their names.

6. "A record of the cases like Gurdial Singh's, and of others in which native civilians, competitive and statutory, have been degraded and transferred, should be called for in Parliament."

By all means. And let us have the European list along with it.

7. "One of the earliest, when in charge of the City gaol, was summoned to put down an *émeute* of the prisoners, and refused to leave his room."

8. "Another, at the head of a district, for which he was selected as likely to do least harm there, was the indirect cause of such riots and demoralisation by his retainers that a place had to be found for him in the judicial department."

In these two "cases" no details are given, capable of leading to identification. Let us have the details. In both cases we want also the proofs of the specific allegations. Till these are forthcoming, the assertions are no better than unsupported libels.

9. "Another so doctored his returns to the High Court, in order to hide the fact that he had far too many undecided cases, involving the detention of witnesses for weeks, that, on the report of a Commission, he was turned out of the service, only to become a talking patriot against the Government."

This is a perversion of Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjea's case. Mr. Dutt remarks the honourable positions that Mr. Surendra Nath has since won. And we will remind the writer of what the late Dr. Hunter said, without answer and without contradiction, when a Tory member put a nasty question to the Under-Secretary for India on February 16, 1894, ending with the assertion that Mr. Surendra Nath "had been tried by a commission and found guilty of making false entries." Dr. Hunter immediately rose and said: "I wish to ask whether it is not a fact that the alleged false entries were made by the clerk; that they related entirely to the dates at which certain legal proceedings took place in his court; and whether the decision of that tribunal was not one which reflected more discredit on the tribunal than on the gentleman dismissed." Dr. Hunter has not yet been answered.

As to the next allegation—the Indian distrust of Indian

officials—Mr. Dutt makes an amply sufficient answer. The rest is merely Anglo-Indian comment of the familiar type. The whole passage is a tissue of disgraceful misrepresentation from beginning to end. No journalist will believe that the tirade proceeded from the *Scotsman's* correspondent's own pen. It was plainly foisted upon him by some bitter enemy of the Indian people—not improbably a man who has eaten and every day eats their salt. Let him come forth in his own person, so that men may know what is his authority to blacken the faces of the Indians. Our task in India is difficult enough in itself; it is rendered all but hopeless by the dissemination of such noxious trash through journals of recognised position. There is no more serious danger to our Indian Empire than such irresponsible writing, placed authoritatively in the hands of people at home ignorant of the real facts. It is a deplorable sign of a new spirit—a spirit enough to make men like the Lawrences, Outram, and all the old school of Indian administrators, turn in their graves. The awakening of India is a great and permanent fact. It is a force to be directed, not to be combated, least of all by scandalous misrepresentations. If England refuse to face the facts, there is but one end possible. India is anxious for British government, progressively by Indians. But you cannot throttle an awakened people and exclude them from all say in their own affairs—not if they number ten to one. Force is no remedy. Let our statesmen, and our constituencies, look to it in time; and let our home journalists beware of being made the tools of rabid Anglo-Indians.

THE STATE OF GONDAL.

FOR the most part, some of us incline to say, the less we hear of Native States the better—in a sense. Usually, when the affairs of a Native State are brought into prominent notice, it is a case of deposition, or practical supersession, of the chief—a deprivation, a restriction, or a wigging. Happy the Native State that has no history. Yet the indirect influences of Western thought and action is among the most beneficent of the agencies now transforming the face of Indian Native administration. And these influences operate to most advantage in the States where the Resident is content to keep his eyes open and his mouth mostly shut. The fussy type of British agent, riding in the top of his commission, and eager to gain promotion by factitious intermeddling and vexatious activity, is but too well known. He would, in most cases, be found to be the gratuitous instigator of the larger number of our troubles with Native rulers and administrators. With a little judicious encouragement, or even with a let-alone supervision, the Native chiefs are naturally anxious to make a good show as governors, not merely for their own credit in the eyes of the British Government and their neighbours, but mainly for the prosperity of their people. The bad old type of Rájá is obsolescent, if not quite obsolete. The faculty of imitation is strong, and the example of the West is quickly seized and often it is bettered. In not a few of the Native States the people are more prosperous and contented than in British India; the emigration between the two spheres shows a marked balance in favour of the higher preference of the Native State. The Administration Report of the Gondal State for 1897-98 indicates clearly the advantage of spontaneous action under external influences that operate without friction and vexation. Gondal, happily, is too small to be worried and badgered, and is wisely left to its own natural development. It is heartily to be wished that there were many more Gondals in India.

In former years we have had the pleasure of commenting very favourably on the progress of Gondal under the Thakore Sahib; and the most recent Report on the administration of the State confirms our good opinion. There is no external trouble of any sort to divert the attention of the authorities from the internal management of their own affairs. His Highness the Thakore has shown a distinguished example in his personal quest of knowledge as well as in his labours for the good of his subjects. His Edinburgh M.D., in fact, does him more honour than his G.C.I.E. His first thoughts are for the spread of useful education within his borders. "His Highness," runs the Report, "being himself a lover of learning, fully recognises education as a watchword of progress, and is particularly desirous of extending its blessings to all parts of his State. Among the many subjects which engage His Highness's attention, none is of greater importance than that of public education, and it is a matter of congratulation that during the past year the work of the department was both steady and continuous." The attitude of aspiration is the essential thing; from that all the rest follows. The Grasia College is in full work—since April last year; and its usefulness is appreciated by neighbouring States, which send one third of its students. True, the curriculum is limited, and the numbers are as yet only 27; but it marks a great step in the right direction, and gives every promise of advance. The High School, opened at the same time with the Grasia College, has already sent 19 pupils to the matriculation examination of the University of Bombay, and passed 12 of them. The Moghiba Girls' School in Gondal "maintains its position as one of the largest and most flourishing institutions of its kind in the Province." The Report remarks the striking increase in attendance in the girls' schools generally as "highly gratifying," and the reason annexed is noteworthy: "for unless strenuous efforts are made to lessen the disparity between the education of the sexes, a complete regeneration of the country is very difficult, if not altogether impossible." The Report also speaks of a significant "new demand in certain backward villages for the establishment of educational institutions in their midst." And mark how the demand is recognised. "This kind of demand," the Report proceeds, "is always to be welcomed, and His Highness, as a rule, readily appreciates it, inasmuch as it marks advance and indicates a happy sign of the times." The Thakore should see to it that a copy of this Report is placed in the hands of Lord George Hamilton, and ask the Secretary of State whether it betokens a land of "savages."

Gondal was only indirectly implicated in the famine. The harvest was fairly good; but the exportation of food grains to famine centres raised the home prices, and thus pressed so heavily on the poorer classes that the State had to intervene for the mitigation of distress by opening relief works and contributing direct assistance. It is worth noting that the public spirit of the Government was emulated by private individuals, whose action was none the less praiseworthy that some of them had profited by the scarcity. "The charitably disposed Mahajans and Mussalman Jamat, both at Gondal and Dhoraji, supplied gratuitously raw grain and cooked food to the needy." The preparations made for defence against plague appear to have been very thorough, and "the territory of Gondal enjoyed perfect immunity from this detestable disease." The general death-rate, however, has risen from 30·1 to 37·26 in Gondal town, whose population is a little over 15,000. This is very high. It is not attributable, however, says the health officer, in any way to the insanitary state of the town, but to the "peculiar and uncertain changes in the atmosphere." "The excess of mortality," according to the Report, "is attributed to the prevalence of malarial fevers." The parallelism with Calcutta is worth noting. There the health officer attributed the fevers to local insanitary conditions, while the chairman of the Commissioners pointed to a like rise of fevers under varying sanitary conditions all over Bengal. This conflict of view needs further enquiry; and meantime the experience of Gondal tells markedly in favour of the Calcutta municipality. Keen as the Thakore Sahib is to take a leaf out of the British book, we shall be mightily surprised if, with his scientific knowledge and administrative experience, he sets about curing the mischief by reversing the numbers of the official and non-official members of the Gondal Municipality. It is somewhat curious that vaccination and small-pox flourish together in Gondal, small-pox having claimed no fewer than 179 victims during the year. These are the things that produce "conscientious objectors."

We are glad to see that the Vighoti or cash assessment is proving a success. This in itself is a distinct proof of the advancing prosperity of the State on enlightened lines. The success is, no doubt, in no little degree due to the gradual introduction and judicious extension of the system. It has to be observed that the process was not carried out without opposition, but that it was taken to by the people, and so in a manner has grown rather than been imposed. This is a conspicuous example of sound legislative and administrative action. "The change," says the Report, "was welcomed by the rayats—in fact, they asked for its extension; but the Grasias and Jiwaidars

opposed it as an innovation not suited to their purpose, though they were none the worse for it in point of their share of the land revenue." To carry through a reform that does not hurt the material interests of the better classes while relieving the rayats from inconvenience, annoyance, and delay—this we point to as a masterly stroke of judicious governmental action. The Agricultural Association, which is widely representative, enables the Government to keep in touch with the needs of the people; the experimental farm is teaching valuable lessons to the agriculturists of the State; and the Government encourages the digging of wells by offering advances without interest. There is little to remark on the subject of manufactures, or of public works; business having been rather slack during the year. The proportion of crime to population is but 0·18 per 100. Neither this year nor last has there been any dacoity or mail-robbery; murders stand at six; there is some decrease of the offences of hurt, theft by house-breaking, and petty crimes; though there is an increase of the most prevalent offence of ordinary theft. The machinery of civil and criminal justice appears to be in excellent working order.

Gondal, it may be said, truly enough, is but a small place. It would not be missed out of the map of India. Yet there it stands, and works its influence for good or for evil; it is not to be ignored. On the contrary, it shows an admirable example. If Gondals could be multiplied all over the face of the land, it would be a far more prosperous and happy land than it is. What is wanted is external peace and internal harmony—a good understanding between rulers and ruled, as a basis for just and effective administration. The relations between the Thakore Sahib and his people are shown very interestingly in their congratulatory address to him on the occasion of his G.C.I.E. at Diamond Jubilee time, and in his reply. His Highness wrote:

> In giving expression to your satisfaction you are pleased to remark that the people are happy if the ruler is happy, and are comfortless if the ruler is in distress. This may be true, but is only half a truth. In order to make it a whole truth I must add that a ruler's happiness or misery depends upon the happiness or misery of his subject population. In this place I have to confess that I have not been able to contribute to your happiness and prosperity to the extent I should desire. Much remains to be done. And yet it is a matter of no small gratification to me to hear that what little I have hitherto accomplished in the discharge of my sacred duty to further your interests has been found agreeable to your wishes. The high compliments you pay to the Dewan Sahib's career are well deserved, and have the support of my personal experience of his ability. The credit you give him is exclusively his, and I do not claim any share in it. In fine, on behalf of the Rani Sahib and myself, I thank you for the good wishes contained in your address, and join you in your hope that I may be able to promote your welfare still further.

After all deductions on the score of formality, there is here a fine old-world flavour of the happy family, which in these days of flaunting Imperialism has something of the charm of an oasis in a desert. Such an example of Native capacity for good work is just now pre-eminently valuable.

OUR LONDON LETTER.

(FROM A PARLIAMENTARY CORRESPONDENT.)

THE home market, if I may adapt the language of the Exchange to the purposes of my letter, continues to be flat. But any dulness in home affairs is more than compensated by the extreme interest of doings abroad. It is difficult to say to which part of the world the British public is looking with the most absorbed attention just now, but on the whole I think it is to China. If it were not for the horribly tragical background to all political struggles in China, the doings of the last week or two out there would be comic in the extreme; but it is impossible to forget the murderous possibilities involved. Only the other day a section of the English Press was indulging in a premature chortle over the dismissal of Li Hung Chang. We were told that Lord Salisbury had asserted himself, and the old Mandarin, who had dared to take up the cause of Russia, had been hurled from power in consequence. The attention of the whole world was therefore invited to the vigour and extent of British influence. Those who stood by us were rewarded, and our enemies were cast down and discomfited altogether.

At the time I was told by more than one man who knew China well that the end was not yet, by any means, with regard to Li Hung Chang. The public here in London have no notion whatever of the enormous power and influence of that man. He did not wait long, however, before giving them what in slang is called a "taste of his quality." He had been deposed, and no sooner had he gone than the Emperor of China, a young man of no great strength of character, but one apparently inspired by liberal and amiable motives, proposed certain reforms. Reform in China! The very notion was staggering, and apparently the Emperor, having put his hand to this work, resolved to be what in this country would be known as an advanced Radical. For he attacked the notorious dishonesty of the ruling mandarins, and issued a decree that they should publish monthly balance-sheets of the public moneys they receive and expend. Could there be any more embarrassing duty laid upon a class which has been distinguished from all time by its barefaced dishonesty? The Emperor also publicly declared that Western civilisation was in many respects better than that of China. It is said that he even went so far as to order certain changes in dress, he is hinted to have had evil designs upon the pig-tail, and, incredible though it appears, he was announced to contemplate reforms in the national religion involving the closing of two-thirds of the Buddhist temples.

For only a day or two did men stare at this strange news, when all these dreams of the wonderful results of British prestige under Lord Salisbury were blasted into space. Li Hung Chang had only bided his time. He and his firm ally, the Dowager Empress, felt it was time to act—and they acted. In an instant the situation was reversed. Down went the Emperor. He may be, and probably is, dead; but in any case he is out of the running completely. The Dowager Empress has come to the head of affairs once more, and that means of course that Li Hung Chang is the real ruler of China. That is to say, Russia's friends triumph and ours are the laughing-stock of all those Chinamen who do not happen to pity them. There were two leading advisers of the Emperor who took the side of England. One, by name Kang Yu-Wei, was warned just in time to escape, and is now under British protection. The other, Chang-Yin-Huan, was not so fortunate, and he has been arrested. A charge has been trumped up against him to the effect that he was plotting against the Emperor's life, and according to a grim telegram "he is now awaiting trial by the Board of Punishments." By far the best that can be hoped for any poor wretch in such circumstances is that he may have a chance of committing suicide.

The telegram adds: "His chief offence was his British sympathies." Here is a fine object-lesson for the world. We and Russia are engaged in a tug-of-war in China. We manage for a day or two to gain an advantage over the Chinese friends and backers of Russia, and not a few British journalists invite the world to contemplate our greatness. Suddenly the tables are turned. Our enemies are supreme, our friends are either being hunted or awaiting trial, and "trial" in China gives even less chance of justice than a French court-martial. The Conservative party in China is too strong for us, and Conservative Ministers in England have landed us in one humiliation after another. And that is the moral of the situation in China.

But China has by no means monopolised public interest during the week, for there has been news from Fashoda. A message which was as interesting because of its omissions as because of its statements has come through from the Sirdar to the Lord Mayor of London. The Sirdar had occasion to thank the City for complimentary congratulations, and he said in an *en passant* style, "Your message reached me after I had returned from establishing garrisons at Fashoda and on the Sobat river." The first conclusion jumped at was that after all Major Marchand and the French were not at Fashoda, and the Sirdar had had what is called "a walk-over." But later news showed that this was not so. Marchand was there and the French flag was flying. The Sirdar explained that the territory was Egyptian, and requested Marchand to lower the French flag; but the Frenchman naturally enough said that having put up the flag under orders from his superiors he could not lower it without orders from the same source. So the Sirdar ran up two flags, the British and the Egyptian, and said, with what I consider to have been admirable wisdom and humour, "the further developments must be left to diplomacy!" So at present Fashoda is rejoicing

under three flags. If another account may be relied upon, the Sirdar has more than established his reputation as a humourist, for he is said to have resolved to "treat Major Marchand's expedition as purely scientific." The notion of insisting on supposing that a fire-eating Frenchman who is really after glory is merely engaged on a harmless little trip after butterflies and insects is rich in the extreme—and now it remains to be seen what diplomacy will make of the affair.

It is impossible to refer to France without mentioning the Dreyfus case. Slowly, very slowly, the cause of justice and humanity seems to be making headway. I have been shocked and sickened by the brutality and injustice which this case has revealed; but while I think it only right to denounce the scoundrelism which has been brought to light, I wish to avoid all pharisaism. I know perfectly well that our hands, as a nation, are not clean. The case of the Natu brothers was referred to in this paper last week as a parallel case, and so it is. The prosecution and consequent conviction of Mr. Tilak had also hateful and ugly features. And in our treatment of India, other cases not unlike the Dreyfus affair, but which have not attracted such world-wide attention, could be discovered. All this is true enough, and when I say what I think about the Dreyfus scandal, I am under no illusion about our own virtue.

But all this does not make the Dreyfus business one whit the better. At last the French Government has been forced to agree to a revision of the trial, and it looks as though the case will be heard again. So far, so good. But I am told by a Parisian journalist who knows all the ins and outs of the case that the new trial must of necessity be a court-martial, and therefore a secret business. The result may be satisfactory, but it may not. Much will depend upon the state of popular feeling at the time. Just at present there has been such a sickening exposure of forgeries, deceptions, trickery, and perjury by paid spies, that the people are beginning to cry "Vive Révision," and so on. But the French crowd, like all other crowds, is necessarily fickle, and there are two tremendous obstacles in the way of justice to Dreyfus. In the first place, somehow or other, the army considers its "honour" is bound up in sustaining the condemnation of Dreyfus. It is curious that the torture of a brilliant ex-officer should be considered necessary to the welfare of the army; but we have to recognise facts, and so it is. Moreover the army counts for much in France. And then again Dreyfus is a Jew, and somehow or other it is possible to stir up the lowest and basest passions in some men by an appeal to anti-Semitic feeling. I have all along believed in the innocence of Dreyfus; but I verily believe that if he is brought back to Paris, retried, and proclaimed to be innocent, he will be assassinated within a week of his release.

There is no news of interest or importance in home politics. Men are beginning to say that the Government contemplates a new Redistribution Bill, but as that implies an immediate appeal to the country, I do not think it need be considered a matter of immediate interest. A vacancy has been caused in the Ormskirk Division by the death of Sir A. B. Forwood, a Conservative politician of no great importance. There is not likely to be any change in the representation of the constituency, seeing that he had a majority of 2,895, having polled more than twice the number of votes given to his opponent.

CHRONICLE OF THE WEEK.

Thursday, September 22.—It was decided, in consequence of representations made at the Colonial Office by the Agents-General of the colonies with which he was formerly connected, that the late Sir George Grey should be interred on Monday next in St. Paul's Cathedral.

The Pekin correspondent of the *Times* said that an Imperial edict published nominally by the authority of the Emperor, but really dictated by the Empress Dowager, proclaimed the restoration of the Regency. The Emperor announced that twice previously the Empress had acted as Regent during troublous times, and that she had now, in deference to his entreaty, again consented to assist the Government. It was believed in certain quarters that the edict implied the death of the Emperor.

Prince Henry of Orleans, in an article in the Paris *Figaro*, argued that the occupation of Fashoda destroyed the importance of the British capture of Khartoum, and maintained that the French had superior rights at Fashoda to those of Great Britain or Egypt.—The *Temps* deprecated as an irreparable disaster for the cause of humanity and progress a rupture between the two great Western powers, and urged that it would be inadmissible to proclaim, on the strength of subsequent events, the "illegality of events which have taken place under the benefit of a special *régime*," and to claim to proceed by way of eviction where there could only be friendly negotiations and reciprocal engagements.

Friday, September 23.—The council of Admirals at Canea informed the Executive Committee of the Cretan Assembly that as the Mahometans were disarming, the Christians should also disarm. The Committee replied with a declaration that the Christians were ready immediately after the withdrawal of the Turkish troops to deliver their arms to the autonomous Government which would be established. From Constantinople it was reported that Turkish feeling there was extremely bitter about the treatment of the Mahometans at Candia.

It was now known that General Zurlinden, on being re-appointed Military Governor of Paris, ordered the prosecution of Colonel Picquart without consulting anybody. He informed General Chanoine of his determination, but gave the latter the impression that M. Brisson was acquainted with it, and General Chanoine, being unaware of the previous adverse decision of the Cabinet on the subject, saw no necessity for mentioning it at Tuesday's Cabinet Council. The other ministers were thus quite unaware of what had been done till Tuesday night, and were placed in a false position.—M. Clémenceau, writing in the *Aurore*, declared that "a military caste seizes us, and claims to make France its property. . . . Never since the Revolution has France encountered so dangerous a crisis."

An agreement was reported to have been come to by the Chilian and Argentine Governments to refer to the arbitration of the British Government all points in dispute with respect to their boundary from parallel 26° 52′ 45″ to the southernmost point of their respective frontiers. The Argentine Government, however, refused, while the Chilian Government insisted, that the question of the boundary north of the point indicated should also be referred to arbitration; and the question, therefore, remained still unsettled. From Buenos Ayres it was reported that the Senate had sanctioned a measure for the mobilisation of 110,000 men.

Saturday, September 24.—From Cairo it was reported that the Sirdar had returned to Omdurman after peacefully establishing posts at Fashoda and Sobat, but the authorities in Cairo declined to give any information in regard to strangers found occupying Fashoda. It was said to be certain that there were no Abyssinian troops on the Upper Nile.—Colonel Parsons, the Governor of Kassala, on Thursday captured Gedaref, the last stronghold of the Dervishes in the Sudan, after three hours' fighting. The enemy numbered 3,000, the Egyptian force 1,300. The Dervishes were completely routed, with a loss of 500 killed. The loss of Colonel Parsons's force was 35 killed and 53 wounded. —The *Débats*, in a long article on the Fashoda question, in which it argued that the matter was one for negotiation, observed that "everything warrants the belief that Sir H. Kitchener will have the most courteous relations with Major Marchand and his officers."

The Consultative Commission at the Ministry of Justice, to which the question of the revision of the Dreyfus case was referred, came to a negative decision. At the Cabinet Council to-day, M. Sarrien announced that the Commission were equally divided, and therefore, according to custom, their report was in the negative. It was understood that the three members of the Commission who were against revision held that Colonel Henry's forgery, being posterior to Dreyfus's conviction, was not a "new fact" within the meaning of the law so as to warrant the re-opening of the case. The Cabinet discussed the question for two hours, but came to no conclusion, and eventually the matter was postponed till Monday, when two Ministers who were absent on Saturday would be present. It was believed that M. Brisson and M. Bourgeois were in favour of referring the affair to the Court of Cassation, but that M. Sarrien hesitated to set aside the report of the Commission. As to his power of doing so, there was no doubt. The *Temps* and *Débats* strongly urged the Ministry to remit the question to the Court of Cassation.

From Pekin it was stated that Kang-Yu-Wei was charged with conspiring against the Empress Dowager. He had been declared an outlaw, and his arrest was ordered. Chang Yin Huan, the Cantonese enemy and rival of Li Hung Chang, had been arrested on a charge of harbouring Kang-Yu-Wei and was under trial. He would be stripped of all his offices, and his removal would give increased power to Li Hung Chang. The officials generally welcomed the Empress's return; the people were indifferent.—A Reuter despatch from Wei-hai-wei said her Majesty's battleship "Centurion" left there suddenly on Friday under sealed orders. It was supposed that her destination was Ta-ku. She would be accompanied from Chifu by six other British war vessels. The situation was considered very grave.

Monday, September 26.—It was officially announced that a peerage of the United Kingdom had been conferred on Major-General Sir H. Kitchener.

The funeral of Sir George Grey took place in St. Paul's Cathedral. A long procession escorted the hearse from West Kensington to the Cathedral, where an immense congregation had assembled. Among those present were Lieutenant-General Godfrey Clerk, representing the Queen, Lord Monson on behalf of the Duke of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha, Lord Selborne on behalf of the Government, the Lord Mayor, who attended in State, and the Agents-General of several of the colonies.

According to Reuter's Agency, Sir H. Kitchener, when he reached Fashoda, found the French flag flying and Major Marchand in possession. The Sirdar informed the French officer that as Commander-in-Chief of the Egyptian army it devolved upon him to occupy Fashoda, which was within the dominions of the Khedive. There was no unpleasantness, but Major Marchand steadfastly refused to haul down his flag without orders from his Government. Thus at present the British, Egyptian, and French flags were flying at Fashoda. Having left a sufficient garrison, both British and Egyptian, in the place, the Sirdar returned to Omdurman, leaving the question of the possession of Fashoda to be settled by diplomacy. The matter had been laid before the French Government, with which negotiations were proceeding in Paris.

The French Ministry, after nearly four hours' deliberation, decided that the Minister of Justice should transmit to the Cour de Cassation the application for the revision of the Dreyfus case. The Minister of Justice, it was also announced, informed the Council that he was about to instruct the Procureur-Général immediately to prosecute any person making an attack on the army.

Tuesday, September 27.—A Reuter despatch from Paris said that Great Britain, France, Russia, and Italy had agreed on the terms of the ultimatum to be addressed to the Sultan demanding the withdrawal of the Turkish troops and functionaries from Crete, and that the document would be despatched within 24 hours.—The insurgents in the district of Candia were said to have dispersed. The Mahometans at Canea declared that, on condition of receiving an assurance of the protection of their lives and property, they were prepared to see the departure of the Turkish troops.

At to-day's meeting of the French Cabinet the Foreign Minister stated that the British Ambassador had read to him on the previous evening the Sirdar's report of his meeting with Major Marchand at Fashoda. The minister also said that the statement that the French Government had sent any order to Major Marchand was entirely incorrect.

Sir Arthur Forwood, for many years a leader of the Conservative party in Liverpool, and since 1885 the representative in the House of Commons of the Ormskirk Division of South-West Lancashire, died after a short illness. He was born in 1836.

Wednesday, September 28.—The French Colonial Minister was reported to have said, in the course of an interview, that it must not be inferred from their pacific intentions and desire of conciliation that the French Government had a policy of abandonment in regard to Fashoda. Before doing anything they must await the reports of the head of the mission. A collision between the British and French troops had been avoided, and everybody must rejoice at this. The Fashoda question and others involved in it would be settled in Europe, and not on the Nile, but the negotiations could not begin until Major Marchand's reports had been received. Till then things would remain as they were, and there would be no change in the orders given before the recent events.

Mr. Thomas F. Bayard, the first Ambassador from the United States to the Court of St. James's, died at Dedham, Massachusetts. He was in his 70th year.

OUTRAGEOUS ATTACK UPON INDIAN CIVILIANS.

HOW THE BRITISH PUBLIC IS MISLED.

We desire to call attention to the following paragraph which appeared in the "London Correspondence" of the *Scotsman* on August 10 last, and upon which we comment on page 176:—

"The facts recently telegraphed from Simla that a commission of high officials, which has for months been investigating charges of bribery and corruption brought against Gurdial Singh, a member of the Covenanted Civil Service, is believed to have reported him as guilty, and that two of the principal witnesses against him have been murdered, have a special significance. This is only the latest of several cases in which Hindu and Mahometan members of the Indian Civil Service have broken down from moral corruption or physical and moral cowardice. Yet the so-called National Congress and its Radical supporters, like Sir William Wedderburn, M.P., clamour for more high offices to be opened to men whose only qualification is the English education they have received in Indian colleges, chiefly at public expense. When that fairest of Radicals, the Right Hon. H. H. Fowler, M.P., became Secretary of State for India, his eyes were opened, and in the House of Commons in 1894 he declared that out of the 898 positions competed for in the Indian Civil Service, and open to all the Queen's subjects, ninety-three were held by Bengali and other Babus, of whom Gurdial Singh is one. Not only so, but there is a Native judge in each of the five High Courts of Justice, where he is generally associated with English or Scottish barrister judges, and is, therefore, really useful and reliable. A record of the cases like Gurdial Singh's, and of others in which Native civilians, competitive and statutory, have been degraded and transferred, should be called for in Parliament. One of the earliest, when in charge of the city gaol, was summoned to put down an *émeute* of the prisoners, and refused to leave his room. Another, at the head of a district for which he was selected as likely to do least harm there, was the indirect cause of such riots and demoralisation by his retainers that a place had to be found for him in the judicial department. Another so doctored his returns to the High Court, in order to hide the fact that he had far too many undecided cases, involving the detention of witnesses for weeks, that on the report of a Commission he was turned out of the service, only to become a talking patriot against the Government. Even when Native civilians are free from evil their countrymen will not believe it. Such is the result of Asiatic experience, universal all over the Eastern world. In the opinion of many of the wisest European friends of the Natives and of our Indian Empire, the time has come to limit absolutely the number of nine hundred 'covenanted' civil appointments which may be held by Natives. Some authorities would go further, and say that no district of India should ever be entrusted to the executive and magisterial control of a Native. The evidence in Gurdial Singh's case, as it has appeared in the local papers from time to time of late, has been remarkable, and should, with the Commission's report, be submitted to Parliament."

With reference to the foregoing paragraph, Mr. Romesh C. Dutt, C.I.E. (late officiating Commissioner of Orissa, and sometime member of the Legislative Council of Bengal), wrote as follows to the editor of the *Scotsman* on September 22, but up to the time of our going to press the letter, so far as we could ascertain, had not appeared:—

To the Editor of the "Scotsman."

Sir,—My attention has been drawn to some remarks on the dismissal of Gurdial Singh of the Punjab service, which appeared in your London Correspondence in your issue of August 10 last. I regret I did not see these remarks before; they were placed before me only last night, and I take this earliest possible opportunity of replying to them. As these remarks embody statements incorrect and untrue, and are also grossly unfair to my countrymen, who feel a legitimate pride in holding positions of trust and responsibility under the British Government in India, I hope you will kindly permit me to correct a few of the statements.

Your correspondent speaks of the charges of corruption brought "against Gurdial Singh, a member of the Covenanted Civil Service." This is untrue. Gurdial Singh was not of the Covenanted Civil Service, but of the Statutory Civil Service, of which I will speak further on. The Covenanted Civil Service, to which I had the honour to belong for over twenty-five years, and from which I have recently retired, is now called the Imperial Civil Service, and comprises nearly all the high administrative posts in India. There are over eight hundred appointments in this great service, and less than fifty of them are held by my countrymen; and it is a just ground of complaint with them that her Majesty the Queen's Proclamation made in 1858, that "*It is our further will that so far as may be our subjects of whatever race or creed be freely and impartially admitted to offices in our service*," has not been redeemed.

Your correspondent further states, referring to Gurdial Singh's case, that "this is only the latest of several cases in which Hindu and Mahometan members of the Indian Civil Service have broken down from moral corruption, or physical and moral cowardice."

This is untrue if by Indian Civil Service he means the Covenanted Civil Service, which is its ordinary and accepted signification. There has not been one single case in Bengal (except that of Mr. Banerjea, to which I will refer further on), and there has not, I believe, been one single case in all India in which any member of the Covenanted Civil Service, Hindu or Mahometan, has broken down from corruption or cowardice. As a retired Indian member of the Covenanted Indian Civil Service, I consider it my duty to make this assertion in justice and fairness to my brother members of the same service, and I challenge contradiction.

Your correspondent darkly refers to incidents which led to the transfer of an Indian civilian from charge of a district in which he had been unable to keep order. He gives no names, and I am unable to verify or traverse the statement. On the other hand there have been instances in which it has been necessary to transfer European officers from charge of districts, and in one instance to send an Indian officer to restore order and peace. I will not mention names, but the official *Gazette* of Bengal of past years, in which Government Resolutions relating to such cases were published, will support my statement.

I have mentioned the case of Mr. Banerjea before. Your correspondent alludes to this case when he says that he "doctored his returns to the High Court." I was in Bengal

and in the service when this happened, and I can assure you that among a large portion of the members of the service, the impression was that Mr. Banerjea was the victim of a bad system of submitting returns, which was then widely prevalent. The civilians' paper, the *Observer*, called the vitiated system by the well-known name of "*fudging a naksha*," which was then not uncommon in India, and the *Observer* protested against sacrificing an Indian civilian for a fault or negligence which was then not uncommon with European officers. What the Government of Bengal and the Government of India have since thought about Mr. Banerjea is shown by the fact that they have appointed him honorary magistrate of Calcutta, and have sanctioned his election as member of the Legislative Council of Bengal. Do not these facts prove that the Government themselves are now conscious that Mr. Banerjea was the victim of a bad system rather than a willing offender? Is it possible to suppose that if he really had been guilty of dishonest practice the Government would have loaded him since with civic honours? And I maintain that this is the only one instance in which an Indian member of the Covenanted Service has broken down—and that was twenty-five years ago. I will not stop to mention the cases which have happened within these twenty-five years in which it has been found necessary to degrade, transfer, European members of the same service, or compel them to retire. There are black sheep in every flock, and it is not honest to judge the flock by the bad exceptions.

"Even when Native civilians are free from evil, their countrymen will not believe it," says your correspondent. This is grossly untrue. During a course of over twenty-five years' service, I have seen my countrymen placed in charge of large and heavy districts, some of them with a population of over three millions, and I have never known the people of any district, Hindu or Mahometan, wanting confidence and trust in their countrymen as administrators. The popularity and success of my countrymen as district officers was so marked and conspicuous in some instances as to attract attention. Pardon me, sir, if I am tempted to mention in this connexion the last appointment which I myself had the honour to hold before I left India in 1897, as officiating Commissioner of Orissa and Superintendent of Tributary States. In the latter capacity I had to superintend the administration of some eighteen Tributary States, visit the Rájás in their dominions, inspect their systems of rule, and sometimes to advise and instruct them. And I take this opportunity of gratefully recording the fact that throughout the time that I held this appointment I had the honour and privilege of enjoying the trust and confidence, and I may be permitted to add, the friendship and respect of every prince that I had to deal with. Asiatic experience is not different from European experience. Trust begets trust and confidence; unworthy mistrust and suspicion has been the ruin of states and empires in India before now.

I have only one word to add in regard to the "Statutory Civil Service" to which Gurdial Singh belonged. When that service was formed, the people of India asked that selections should be made in the usual way, *i.e.*, by open competition. The Government decided otherwise, viz., to select into the service such men as had given satisfaction by past work. This was good in theory but bad in practice, because, speaking from my official experience, sycophancy often passes in India for good work. The result was that the statutory service had some good members and some bad. Further recruitment to the service has been stopped, and those in the service are being merged in the provincial or lower administrative services of India.

Your correspondent calls for a record of the cases in which Indian officers have broken down. If counting black sheep be grateful and profitable work, let it be done; but both with regard to Indian and European officers—and I am willing to abide by the result of the comparison—I myself think such work both dirty and unprofitable; because, in spite of rare exceptions, the Indian services, both European and Native, will I think compare favourably in honesty, ability, and devotion, with any service on the face of the earth. I myself consider it an honour and a privilege to have belonged to the Covenanted Civil Service of India, and looking back over a period of more than a quarter of a century, I contemplate with pride the work of my comrades in arms, European and Indian, who devoted their life to the honest and zealous performance of the work which they undertook. It is an unworthy work, and a dirty work, to pick out the failures where all try their best, and where so many achieve brilliant success.

And if you look down the ladder, in the provincial services, among civil judges, deputy-magistrates, tahsildars, settlement officers, and others, the record is much the same—one of brilliant and surprising success, with few and rare cases of failure. It is the proud and just boast of Great Britain that the services she has organised in India, European and Native, will compare favourably in honesty and devotion with the services of any part of the world. The High Courts of India have repeatedly extolled the qualifications of Native Indian officers. Anglo-Indian papers in India, like the *Pioneer*, acknowledge the general probity, ability, and honesty of Native Indian officers in the judicial and executive services, subordinate and superior. Mr. Robinson Souttar, M.P., only the other day described forcibly and eloquently in the House of Commons the high moral tone of the Native services in India. The evidence on this point comes from every direction, and is conclusive, and it is scarcely an honourable endeavour to throw dirt on any section of the great Indian services because of the failure of one man here and there.

Yours truly,
ROMESH C. DUTT,
Of the Indian Civil Service (retired).

September 22, 1898.

"WHAT EDUCATED INDIA WANTS."

MR. W. A. CHAMBERS AT SHEFFIELD.

The *Sheffield and Rotherham Independent* gives the following report of the meeting which Mr. W. A. Chambers, editor of the *Bombay Champion*, addressed at Sheffield on September 21:—

In the lecture-hall of the Y.M.C.A. buildings last evening, Mr. J. Derry presided at a well-attended meeting which came together to hear Mr. W. A. Chambers, editor of the *Bombay Champion*, lecture upon the wants of educated India. Mr. H. J. Wilson, M.P., supported the Chairman, and among the audience was Mr. James Wilson, who formerly was the editor of the *Indian Daily News*.

The CHAIRMAN said every patriotic Englishman and Englishwoman who gave thought to the larger affairs of the country must realise that there was no question that was more important to them than the government of India and the condition of her people. India, from the point of view of population, formed the largest part of the British Empire, yet those who gave most thought to public affairs must feel that when they dealt with Indian questions they were dealing with subjects of which they had comparatively little knowledge. There was a little difficulty in understanding races from which we were only narrowly divided. It had often seemed to him that one of the greatest problems that must confront always all public men was that while they admitted that common humanity united men of all blood and all colour together, even small differences between nations of the highest civilisation were very hard to understand, and very difficult to overcome. How much more then must it be in the case of India? India was a land of great and difficult problems, some of which were hardly heard of in this country. Taking only the last year or two, there was the constantly recurring problem of famine, pestilence, and poverty to an extent never realised here. Although it was customary to look upon India as a rich country, yet most of the millions of the people were living close on the border of starvation. Englishmen came into this great inheritance of the government of India knowing comparatively little of the problems that confronted them. There was the problem of self-government. Increasingly there was an educated India. Increasingly whole classes of the Indian people were acquiring an education which was much higher than the average education of England. Then, how should they be admitted to the privileges which accompanied education in this country? English people should also keep in mind the characters of the observers who went out to India and brought information home. These observers fell into two or three classes. There was the official class, the Englishman sent out purposely to govern. Whatever were the virtues of an official class, and those virtues were many—and they would all be willing to uphold to the fullest extent the men who went out in the name of and to govern on behalf of England—yet officials, living largely to themselves, forming a society to themselves, were to some extent prejudiced. Another large class of observers were the missionaries. All would speak with every respect of the work done by missionaries, but the tendency was for them to take a thoroughly religious view, and perhaps to discount other influences which observers taking a broader view would give more account of. Another class of observers were the hasty visitors. Mr. Wilson, M.P., had been through India, and had observed Indian life with the independence which always characterised him; but a visitor only obtained a casual observation of the great problems of the country. It was, therefore, of very great value when they could hear from one who had lived in India in an independent position concerning the problems with which the empire was faced. His own idea, broadly speaking, was that the moment when England ceased to govern India for her good they should cease to govern her altogether. (Hear, hear.) It was only because they believed they had ideals of government which would raise India that this nation, as the exponents of all that was most honest and good in politics, could continue to uphold the Indian Empire. (Applause.)

Mr. CHAMBERS stated that for many years, and particularly during the last two years, Englishmen had heard a good deal, and much that was not good, concerning the educated classes of India. In India many attempts had been made to counteract the influence which had undoubtedly sprung from what they termed "a campaign of misrepresentation" concerning the aspirations and the hopes of the educated Indians. The English Government very wisely had given facilities in India for the highest education possible, and there was a certain section of men in India who had obtained that education, and who were "the direct outcome of the British rule in India." Although small in number these men were a very influential class. It was said that they had turned traitors to those who had given them those advantages, and that they were a danger to the British Empire in the East. But these stories were not in accordance with fact; they were very gross misrepresentations. The first charge made against the educated Hindus was that they were disloyal; that they wished to turn out the English from India, and set up a government of their own. The reply was that the word loyalty was hardly suitable for the relation of the Hindus to England. The educated Indian might not love the English Government, but he respected it, and that respect amounted almost to affection. In the Governments of the East there was no such thing as pure administration or absolute

justice, while in India, under British rule, laws were laid down, the administration was pure, and justice was pure, and the educated Indian recognised and appreciated this, and wished to preserve it. But how was it that their name had been held up in this country to odium as disloyal? The official class had a great idea of their own importance, and when they saw keen, intellectual men criticising their administration they took umbrage. So it happened that the educated Hindus and the officials fell into two classes; the official might be termed the Tory party and the educated Hindu the Liberal party. When they heard the official call the educated Indian disloyal, and when they heard the educated Indian call the official a bad administrator, they should exchange those terms for Liberal and Tory. Mr. Chambers continued that he had lived for ten years and earned his living among the Hindus, and had had private and confidential conversations with them, and he fancied he had their confidence. He had been thrice elected as a delegate to the Indian National Congress by an Indian constituency, and he had the privilege of being elected upon the inner committee, which framed the resolutions for discussion. Speaking generally, the National Congress each year drew attention to the grievances of the country. The great grievance the educated Indian felt very keenly was that the English Government had given him an education which enabled him to administer the country, and yet he was not allowed to partake in that administration. An eminent Brahmin had stated, and he believed the figures to be quite correct, that "according to the Parliamentary return of May, 1892, we have in India in the higher branches of the military and civil departments 2,388 posts, drawing 10,000 rupees a year and upwards, of whom only 60 are natives of India, and even these, with the exception of those who are judges, stop at a comparatively low level." Was that a fair proportion of the higher posts to be held by the people of India? The House of Commons saw this evil, admitted it, and passed a resolution, which in effect would have done away with it; and yet the official party was so strong that the resolution was practically of no worth. The odium passed upon the educated Indian was largely in consequence of the partisan spirit which existed. Mr. Chambers then directed attention to the frontier policy against which the Congress had protested on the ground that it would ruin India, for something like a hundred millions of money had been spent upon Lord Beaconsfield's scientific frontier. They were told by Lord George Hamilton that the finances of India were never in a better state, that the crops were better, the people were paying their assessments, and that things were going on beautifully and swimmingly. But Lord George Hamilton was not speaking the truth. Instructions had gone out from the Government to every municipality not to spend money on public improvements more than was absolutely necessary, because the country could not afford it. The public works of India were being starved because a few military officers thought they could earn distinction on the frontier. It was in consequence of the overbearing conduct and the interference with things not affecting them on the part of young officers that India had to bear this expenditure. Was the protest of the Congress unreasonable? He might be told the Press was reeking with sedition, but he found no more sedition than appeared in any Liberal paper in England. He was not going to exaggerate by saying there was no sedition, but the respectable and responsible papers, the papers that had any influence, were free from it. The seditious publications were small sheets with a circulation of about 20 or 30. Another grievance of the educated Indian had reference to local government. Numbers of municipalities had been established, and now the reactionary policy manifested in England was threatening the loss of this local government by the creation of nominated members. Were the educated Indians seditious in agitating against this? Mr. Chambers also denied the allegation of cowardice made against the Native doctors during the plague. In conclusion he said the educated Indian was not a sedition-monger, and was not deserving of the names that had been thrown at him. He was the product of the British rule. He was not an angel, but he was very much as other men were, and he asked Englishmen to listen to his agitation. It was not true that he wanted to turn the English out of the country.

Mr. H. J. Wilson moved a vote of thanks to Mr. Chambers, and said he had been impressed while in India with the idea that the country was tremendously full of difficult problems. England was responsible for the government of India, and therefore it was very important that the people should give larger attention to the question. It seemed to him the very height of folly that any attempt should be made to interfere with that elementary education in self-government which had been afforded to some extent in some of the towns of India. How rapidly it should be carried out he did not pretend to say, but he was perfectly certain there were questions pressing upon them, and it was well to have their attention directed to them.

Mr. J. Wilson seconded the proposal, remarking that on many points he agreed with and on many he differed from the lecturer.

The resolution was carried. The lecturer responded, and answered a few interrogations put to him.

A vote of thanks was also passed to the Chairman.

A PEERAGE FOR MR. CURZON.

It was announced on Saturday last that the Queen had been pleased to confer the dignity of a peerage upon the Right Hon. George N. Curzon, Viceroy designate of India, by the name, style, and title of Baron Curzon of Kedleston, in the Peerage of Ireland.

Commenting on this announcement, the *Times* said:—The official statement that Mr. Curzon, who is to take up the duties of Viceroy of India on the retirement of Lord Elgin, is created an Irish peer is interesting from more than one point of view. It was assumed, as a matter of course, that Mr. Curzon would be raised to the peerage before he entered upon the government of our great Eastern dependency. For political as well as social reasons it is desirable that the ruler of India should not be ranked as a commoner, and it seemed, consequently, inevitable that he should have at once to submit to the doom of exclusion from the House of Commons, against which, as the heir to a peerage of the United Kingdom, he had so vigorously contended. One of the anomalies, however, of our constitutional system, which sometimes turn out to have unexpected uses of their own, has offered the means of escape from this necessity. When the time comes for Mr. Curzon to succeed his father in the Barony of Scarsdale, there will be no alternative; but in the meantime he can go out to India as a peer, though not a "lord of Parliament," by an exercise of the Royal prerogative that has been rare in recent years. Thus, should he return to England without having become Lord Scarsdale, it would be in his power to resume in the House of Commons, so far as parliamentary law is concerned, the position—a very high and distinguished one—which he had previously attained in that Assembly. Many Irish peers have been notable as members of the House of Commons, the most illustrious among them being Lord Palmerston. Lord Mayo, too, one of the most remarkable of Mr. Curzon's predecessors in the office of Viceroy, was an Irish peer who, before he was sent out to India, had been a prominent personage on the Treasury Bench in the Lower House. There has, however, been a decided reluctance in recent years to make any addition to the Irish peerage, though it is not on the same footing with the Scottish peerage, which, under the provisions of the Act of Union, cannot be increased at all, and of which the members, whether representative peers or not, are absolutely precluded from sitting in the House of Commons. In Ireland, power was reserved to the Crown to create a new peerage for every three of those existing at the time of the Union that might become extinct, and also to keep up the number of Irish peers, not holding other titles, to 100 by new creations whenever it was reduced below that point. There has long been a considerable margin for such additions to the peerage of Ireland, since within the past thirty years some twenty Irish peerages have become extinct. At the same time many more have been merged in peerages of the United Kingdom, as of course Mr. Curzon's will be when he succeeds to his father's barony. Out of 174 members of the Irish peerage only 89, or barely more than one-half, are not also peers of England, Scotland, Great Britain, or the United Kingdom. The latest additions to the Irish peerage were made as long ago as 1868, when the Marquis of Abercorn, a peer of Great Britain, was created an Irish Duke, and a new Irish Barony—that of Rathdonnell—was called into existence.

The *Standard* wrote:—In conferring a peerage on Mr. Curzon her Majesty has had regard not only to the services which the recipient of the honour has rendered to the State in the past, but to the dignity of the office which he is soon to assume. To be appointed Viceroy of India is in itself a distinction which should satisfy the highest ambition. Yet it is felt that in an Empire such as ours, titular rank ought to be the accompaniment of conspicuous responsibility. In few countries is the way more absolutely open to merit; but combined with the sentiment of respect for intellectual energy there goes to the shaping of our institutions an inbred regard for the aristocratical tradition. Our most democratic colonies prefer a peer as a governor, and it is a commonplace that in India native opinion expects to see the greatness of the Crown reflected in the personal eminence of the representative of the Empress. There have been instances, indeed, in which a commoner discharged with credit and acceptance the functions of State at Government House. To John Lawrence a peerage was the reward of his labours as Governor-General; it was not granted to him as a condition of his elevation to supreme rule. But the arrangement was felt to be exceptional, and, for reasons that do not detract from the fame of that great civilian, experience went to show that the experiment was one which it would not be wise to repeat. As matters stand, there is in our method of administration far too little of courtly display and of conformity to the inherited craving of the people for pageantry. The least we can do for our fellow-subjects in the East is to associate power with the emblems of rank, and to give them an English grandee to fill the place which, in their imagination, and indeed vocabulary, represents the most august of mundane prerogatives. But, if a peerage was due to the position which Mr. Curzon was chosen to occupy, it has been conferred in a form which is consistent with his personal desire not to break off too sharply his connexion with the House of Commons. The name, style, and title of the Viceroy, it will be observed, is Baron Curzon of Kedleston in the Peerage of Ireland. He does not, therefore, become necessarily a peer of Parliament. After all, it matters little to the eldest son of a peer whether he is to have a peerage in his own right. It is the problems of Indian Government which fascinate and engage his thoughts. No ruler has ever taken the oath of office at a time more full of interest. If it should devolve upon Lord Curzon to work out —as his countrymen expect—to a happy ending issues of more

than Indian importance, he will have the good fortune to find, in some of the departments which have given great anxiety to his predecessor, that matters are at length in train for a satisfactory settlement. The famine is a thing of the past, and though the plague is only too likely to tax the energies and resources of the local authorities, bitter experience will prevent the repetition of some measures which, though excellently intended, were disastrous in their result. On the North-Western frontier, the scene of so much trouble and of such great sacrifice, quiet appears to have been restored, and a basis laid for permanent pacification. In spite of some disturbing rumours, there is no reason to fear a recurrence of turbulence on the Chitral road, while in the Khyber there is a fair prospect of substituting for the precarious system of local levies a direct British control of the Pass. That was, of course, proved by recent events to be a change obviously necessary. But it is much to know that in effecting it the frontier officials will carry with them the hearty goodwill of the tribesmen who were last winter such formidable and, on the surface, implacable antagonists.

INDIA IN THE BRITISH PRESS.

BRITISH INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA.

Ever since the Convention of London (1884), there has been a stupid friction over the treatment of British Indians in the Transvaal, and in the other South African States as well. The London Convention provided that "all persons, other than natives, conforming themselves to the laws of the South African Republic, will have full liberty, with their families, to enter, travel, or reside in any part of the South African Republic." In 1885 the Transvaal Government desired to assign locations to Indian coolies and other Asiatics in their territory, and enquired whether their doing so would be regarded by the British Government as consistent with the Convention. In 1886 the British Government consented to an amendment of the Transvaal Law (No. 3) of 1885, in the terms: "The Government shall have the power for sanitary purposes of allotting them fixed streets, wards, and locations for habitation." "For sanitary purposes": that was the ground on which the Transvaal obtained British consent—a ground that has been shown to be ludicrously untrue. "It is now acknowledged," wrote Sir Lepel Griffin, "by all competent authority, that the Indian immigrant compares favourably with many European immigrants, while in sobriety and orderly conduct he is superior to most." Anyhow, the British Government would not go back on the arrangement. In 1895 the controversy was foolishly referred to the arbitration of the Chief Justice of the Orange Free State, although he was known to be biassed against the Indians; and, still more foolishly, there was no definite "reference" at all. The Chief Justice gave no direct decision, but left the law in each case "to sole and exclusive interpretation in the ordinary course by the tribunals of the country." A test case has just been decided against the Indians, one judge, Mr. Jorissen, dissenting. The result is "great consternation," with fear for a paralysis of trade, large interests being at stake. It now lies with Mr. Chamberlain "to make friendly representations"—to use his own words—"to the South African Republic as to these traders, and possibly to invite that Government to consider whether, when once its legal position has been made good"—as has now been done—"it would not be wise to review the situation from a new point of view, and decide whether it would not be better, in the interests of its own burghers, to treat Indians more generously, and to free itself from even the appearance of countenancing a trade jealousy, which I have some reason to believe does not emanate from the governing class in the Republic." Very good. But Mr. Chamberlain is in this difficulty: the British Indians are quite as badly treated in the self-governing colonies, neighbours of the Transvaal, and he will have to cast the beam out of his own eye before he proceeds to remove the mote from Mr. Kruger's eye. Natal, for example, is considerably more tyrannous than the Transvaal; it passed a series of disgracefully restrictive Acts as recently as last year. We await Mr. Chamberlain. This intolerable oppression of our fellow-subjects must be summarily ended, first in the self-governing colonies and then in the Transvaal, or, better, contemporaneously and at once. —*The New Age.*

"THE CURSE OF INDIA."

The curse of India still lies heavy on the land. The Madras Presidency now feels its fell influence with crushing weight. Sir Arthur Havelock, who went to Hindustan with a high reputation for fairmindedness, has succumbed to the malign seductions of Indian hill-stations.

Madras is ruled by a Governor and an Executive Council of two, chosen from the ranks of the Indian Civil Service. Death recently created a vacancy in this council. The public mind was not perturbed, for the next name on the roster was Mr. Charles Stewart Crole, without exception the ablest man in the Indian Civil Service in Southern India. Mr. Crole's abilities are not those of the bookworm, the student, or the doctrinaire. He knows the country thoroughly; he understands the people; he has a singularly clear perception of the needs of the hour. By seniority, by natural ability, and by knowledge of India, he was marked out for the vacancy in the Madras Council.

But his name was passed over. The public mind became perturbed. Mr. Arundel, the civilian chosen, was not only Mr. Crole's junior in the service, but his inferior in every respect. An explanation of the appointment has been looked for.

No authoritative explanation has been forthcoming, but the *Madras Mail*, a daily paper much behind the scenes, gives a clue to this remarkable supersession. Mr. Crole is noted for his independence; he is not, to use a euphemism, of a malleable disposition; subservient were, perhaps, the better word. Sir Arthur Havelock, the *Madras Mail* understands, was apprehensive with regard to Mr. Crole's independence of opinion and strength of character. So his name was not submitted to the Secretary of State. For while the appointment to executive councils rests with the Crown, the nominations are in the hands of the Governor of the Province.

Thus the brightest talents are lost to the country, for Mr. Crole will retire from Madras before the year is out, instead of strengthening its council for five years. And the young official is taught that if he wishes to rise to the highest seats on the mountain side, he must abjure independence of opinion and strength of character.

But before Mr. Crole finally retires, another vacancy will occur in the Madras Council. By chance he may yet be appointed. It will be interesting to watch whether this happens, or the curse of favouritism continues to hold sway.—*Daily Mail* (September 26).

ET CAETERA.

Lord Curzon of Kedleston, the new Viceroy of India, who has been on a visit to the Queen at Balmoral, and reached London late on Tuesday night, called at the Foreign Office on Wednesday afternoon. He is likely to be in town for the next few days.

Mr. Curzon's Irish peerage breaks the record in two remarkable particulars. It is the first instance in which a son has been created an Irish peer during the lifetime of his father, the holder of an English peerage, although there is, strange to say, an instance of a son of an Irish peer having been raised to the English peerage in the lifetime of his father. Thus in 1814 Lord Charles William Vane was created, in the lifetime of his father, the Marquis of Londonderry, in the Irish peerage, Baron Stewart in the peerage of the United Kingdom. Then, too, Mr. Curzon, on his accession by inheritance to the peerage of Scarsdale in the United Kingdom, of which he is heir-apparent, will be the only peer whose Irish peerage, created in 1898, will be of a later creation than his English peerage, which dates from 1761. Many Irish peers are holders of English peerages, but the Irish peerages are uniformly of an earlier creation than the English peerages. Thus the Duke of Leinster, whose first Irish peerage was created in 1205, sits in the House of Lords as Viscount Leinster in the peerage of Great Britain—a title created in 1747, upwards of five centuries later.

Mr. Curzon's Irish peerage is the twenty-fourth Irish peerage created since the Union. Of the twenty-three previous post-Union Irish peerages two only have been conferred on Englishmen—the peerage of Rendlesham, conferred in 1866 on Mr. Thelusson, and the extinct peerage of Howdon, conferred in 1819 on Mr. Caradoc. The last creation of an Irish peerage was so far back as 1868, when Mr. John McClintock, of Drumcar, co. Louth, was created Lord Rathdonnell. No Irish peerage has been created for a generation; no Irish peerage has been conferred on an Englishman for upwards of two generations.

Lord George Hamilton will lay the foundation-stone of the new free public library which is to be built at Acton at the cost of Mr. Passmore Edwards. The ceremony will take place early in November. It is to be hoped that the head of the India Office has weighed carefully the dangerous opportunities of reading which the new library will offer.

The P. and O. s.s. "Valetta," for Calcutta, leaves London on October 7, with the following among other passengers:—Mr. and Mrs. J. Stuart Brooke and child; Mr. and Mrs. Edwards and infant; Mr. and Mrs. Mandalay and children; Mr. G. F. Lane; Mr. Leitch; Mr. J. McDougal; Mr. J. Murdoch; and Mr. G. C. Cruickshank.

The s.s. "Caledonia" leaves London for Bombay on October 13. Her list of passengers include the following names:—Lady Macdonald and party; Mr. and Mrs. G. Toynbee; Surg.-Capt. and Miss Close; Lieut. G. T. Wood; Capt. R. B. Berkeley; Col. J. A. Bell; Lieut.-Col. and Mrs. Sealey; Lieut.-Col. J. S. Sorell; Mr. Farzluddin; Gen. Sir W. and Lady Lockhart; Lady Blood; Sir R. and Lady Hume and daughter; and Mr. Rahman.

The P. and O. s.s. "Carthage" is expected in London from Bombay, on October 3, with the following, among other passengers:—Gen. P. J. Maitland; Hon. Mrs. Le Faun; Col. W. and Miss Field; Hon. L. H. and Mrs. Jenkins; Hon. Ali Ameer; Col. Churchill; Mr. Abdul Arir: Hon. Mr. J. Rampini; Mr. S. C. Mahalanolies; and Mr. H. M. Mehta.

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